plantation workers from the Philippines in the early 1900s (Lasker, 1969:28–32). The Filipino community in Hawaii has grown from 21,000 persons in 1920 to more than 69,000 in 1960 and 95,000 in 1970.[1] Growth was particularly rapid in the late 1960s and early 1970s, following the 1965 amendments to the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952. Briefly, these amendments abolished national origin quotas and established a seven-category preference system that permits entry on the basis of kinship with persons already residing in the United States or on the basis of occupational characteristics (see Keely, 1975).

For Hawaii, the consequences of these changes in the immigration law have been dramatic. During the preamendment period from 1961 to 1965, there were 2,777 immigrants from the Philippines, or an average of 555 persons per year. In the postamendment period from 1966 through 1975, 33,117 Filipinos arrived in Hawaii, increasing the average to more than 3,000 immigrants per year (Nordyke, 1977: 42–43). A large proportion of these migrants have come from the Ilocos Coast, and, unless new measures are introduced, there is no reason to believe that the pattern will change, especially since Filipino immigrants tend to settle in areas where a similar ethnic community already exists. Although a greater proportion of Filipino immigrants now goes to the U.S. mainland than in earlier years, Hawaii continues to receive a large share. In 1976, for instance, the state received 10.4 percent of all Filipino immigrants to the United States, second only to California which accounted for 38.5 percent in the same year.

Filipino immigration to Hawaii is thus increasing, a trend which has definite implications for both the sending and the receiving societies. Among other factors, the consequences will be influenced by socioeconomic characteristics of the immigrants themselves. Out-migration implies a transfer of human capital; and the departure of highly skilled immigrants, for instance, must be viewed not only as a demographic, but also in a very real sense a socioeconomic, loss to the sending community. In the receiving society, immigration can contribute to such problems as unemployment and underemployment, the straining and deterioration of government services, congestion and overcrowding, and the growth of slum and squatter communities. In addition to these problems is the impact of increased immigration on the immigrant

1 The recent increase may be due to changes in definition and ways of counting "one." See Schmitt, 1973.

population itself, particularly as it affects the nature of intergroup conflicts and the degree of assimilation and economic adaptation.

There are, of course, positive effects of immigration as well. Immigrants tend to be predominantly young adults, who contribute more to the "producing" portion of the age structure than to the purely "consuming" portion. Immigrants may bring with them skills that are needed in their new home; they may introduce fresh ideas and perspectives, and, in the case of frontier countries, they bring sheer numbers that are needed to exploit the empty lands.

OBJECTIVES AND MAJOR THEMES

As an aid toward understanding the possible consequences of Filipino migration to Hawaii, this paper, which is essentially descriptive, provides an overview of the important socioeconomic characteristics of the Filipino community on the island of Oahu. More specifically, it examines the extent to which all Filipinos on Oahu, as well as subgroups within the Filipino community, have adapted to the host society as evidenced in certain measures of income and occupational status. I hypothesize that the extent of adaptation is influenced by such factors as place of birth, recency of migration, demographic characteristics, and levels of educational attainment.

The analysis is organized into two parts. First, the adaptation of the Filipino community as a whole is compared with that of other ethnic groups on Oahu. This comparison provides an overview of the status of Filipinos as well as the extent to which they have established themselves in the community, particularly in their income levels and the occupations and industries into which they have moved. The factors that appear to have contributed to socioeconomic differentials among the ethnic groups are identified.

Second, subgroups within the Filipino community are similarly compared in their adaptation to the host community. The subgroups are delineated according to what seem to be the major sources of socioeconomic cleavages: place of birth and recency of migration. At the broadest level, distinctions are made between Oahu-born and foreign-born Filipinos. Socioeconomic differentials between these two groups may in large part reflect the fact of being born elsewhere and having resided there until the move, as opposed to being born and nurtured in the host society.

Variations in adaptation between migrants who arrived in the early

decades of the century and those who arrived in more recent years are identified. Much has already been said about two distinct groups of Filipino immigrants to the United States: the "old wave" Filipinos who were mostly manual workers and basically of rural background, and the "second wave" migrants, mostly professional and urban in origin (Smith, 1976).[2] The success of these two groups in adapting to the new environment is expected to differ.

Two major themes that have surfaced in the analysis may be usefully mentioned at the outset. First, there are interesting socioeconomic contrasts among ethnic groups on Oahu, particularly cross-sectional variations in income and occupation. Measured in these terms, the analysis confirms the common view that Filipinos as a group occupy the lower strata of the host society's social and economic life, which seems to reflect their slower pace of adaptation. Factors contributing to this slow pace include the large Filipino immigrant population reared outside the range of American culture; the unusual character of the Filipino age-sex structure and the consequent lack of a stable family life especially among early immigrants; their late arrival; their lesser experience in a competitive trading economy; and possible resistance to Filipinos including inequalities of opportunity for participation in the occupational life of the receiving community.

Second, there are important socioeconomic diversities within the Filipino community itself (Smith, 1976). The analysis confirms the existence of socioeconomic disparities between local-born and foreign-born Filipinos: The Filipino-American, socialized in the United States and generally familiar with the environment, is more successful than the Filipino immigrant, who is often from an essentially rural background, and unfamiliar with the culture and opportunities of the host society.

Among the foreign-born Filipinos, interesting contrasts can be observed between the migrants of the early decades of the century and those who came in more recent years. In particular, the early migrants seem to have had more difficulty in adapting to the new environment as many of them were single males of low socioeconomic origins. The more recent migrant groups, by contrast, have been much more balanced in sex composition, and often from the professional classes.

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2 Much of this variation may be traced to changes in the immigration law. See Keely, 1975.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

For the purposes of this study, several key concepts are defined more narrowly than is general in the literature. The meanings intended for particular terms are given here.

Migrant adaptation

The concept *migrant adaptation* has been widely used by many scholars to refer to the overall response of individuals or collectivities to particular social and physical environments. It is a broad concept that encompasses both subjective and objective dimensions. In the words of one author, any analysis of migrant adaptation must be concerned with:

> . . . how to study or understand the factors important in determining how a migrant makes new friends, finds a job, cares for his family, participates in the informal network and takes advantage of the opportunity structure of his new milieu. It is also concerned with the elements which protect a migrant or make him more vulnerable to the stresses he encounters—so that he may become a winner or a loser, casualty or success, in terms of economic absorption, cultural integration and psychological adaptation (Brody, 1970:13).

Because of data limitations, I use the term in this paper in a much narrower sense to refer mainly to the economic experience of migrants as ultimately measured by their occupational status and income. The paper's reliance on census-type data precludes analysis of the subjective as well as other objective dimensions of adaptation.

Ethnicity

In the 1975 Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) Census Update Survey, this paper's major source of data, ethnicity is defined by self-classification, as reported by the respondent. It thus depends entirely on the subjective identity of the person and may not reflect the "race" or ethnicity of ancestors. For this reason, it is not directly comparable to the standard United States census variable called "race." Although this approach has its own limitations,[3] the definitional problem associated with the concept is at least avoided here because this paper focuses on only one period of time. Nonetheless, it is important to keep the distinction in mind when comparing the OEO estimates with those of decennial censuses (see Schmitt, 1973).

3 Cases of Filipinos resorting to an "ethnic denial mechanism" because of the unfavorable stereotyped image created by the plantation laborers are reported by Jocano (1970).

Certain categories of ethnicity must also be defined (see OEO, 1976: 21). The term "Hawaiian" is used here to refer to persons who considered themselves to be solely of Hawaiian ancestry, whereas the category "part-Hawaiian" includes all persons self-reported as partly of Hawaiian background. The term "mixed (not part-Hawaiian)" includes all persons who considered themselves to be of mixed ethnicity, no part of which was Hawaiian. "Other" is a residual category that includes all persons who indicated an ethnicity that did not fit into any of the other categories. It includes many ethnicities determined by national background, such as Indonesian or Malaysian.

DATA SOURCE: SOME LIMITATIONS

As noted, this paper relies mainly on data gathered in the 1 April 1975 OEO Census Update Survey of Oahu and focuses on the Filipinos on this island, where some 82 percent of the total population of the state lived in 1970. Developed out of the needs of federal, state, and county agencies, the OEO mid-decade sample survey was designed to collect basic demographic and socioeconomic data on all members of each sample household, plus some information about the dwelling unit.

In general, only summary tables are presented in the text. In most cases, however, each text table is based upon a more detailed table derived from the Office of Economic Opportunity (1976), that provides additional information on the variables being examined, the size of the sample, and an estimate of the population involved. (These detailed tables are available from me.) Other sources are identified in the references.

Some limitations of the study are due partly to the nature of the OEO survey. Because of past events, Filipinos on Oahu have an unusual age structure, a fact that should be kept in mind throughout the paper, as it may influence the other factors being examined. For example, the age structure can affect summary figures; median incomes for Filipinos might be biased downward because of the relatively large proportions of Filipinos in the older age groups, where incomes are traditionally low. At the same time, Filipinos of any given age may have higher incomes than other ethnic groups of the same age. I have tried to take such effects of age distribution into account whenever necessary. In some instances, however, it was not possible to control for this variable because of the limited size of the sample.

FILIPINOS AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS ON OAHU

The Filipino population on Oahu was estimated at 68,760 in 1975, equivalent to more than 10 percent of the island's total population of 676,365 (Table 1).[4] Among the major ethnic groups, Caucasians were the largest, making up over 27 percent, followed by Japanese (24.5 percent) and part-Hawaiians (14.4 percent). Groups smaller than the Filipino community include the "mixed (not part-Hawaiian)" (8.2 percent), Chinese (5.6 percent), Portuguese (2.6 percent),[5] Koreans

TABLE 1 Total population of Oahu by ethnicity

Ethnic group	Number	Percentage distribution
Black	9,237	1.4
Caucasian	188,416	27.8
Portuguese	17,621	2.6
Chinese	37,997	5.6
Filipino	68,760	10.2
Hawaiian	5,889	0.8
Part-Hawaiian	97,284	14.4
Japanese	166,328	24.5
Korean	9,838	1.5
Puerto Rican	3,789	0.6
Samoan	6,440	1.0
Mixed	55,447	8.2
Other	9,319	1.4
Total	676,365	100.0
Sample *n*	33,029	
Estimated study population	676,365	

SOURCE: Data in this and the following tables are based on tabulations derived from OEO (1976).

4 Because no estimate of the Filipino population on Oahu was made in the 1970 Census, no direct comparison can be made here. For the entire state, however, the 1970 Census recorded the Filipino population at 94,354, or 12.4 percent of the total population. OEO 1975 data for other counties show Filipinos to account for 15.3 percent of the population of Maui and 9.5 percent of the population of Hawaii County.

5 The Portuguese are of course also Caucasians. In Hawaii, however, they have been traditionally distinguished as a separate group, as they were in the OEO survey and so they are in this paper. In some instances they show clear differences from the other Caucasians.

(1.5 percent), Samoans (1.0 percent), and many other ethnic minorities. Interestingly, the original natives of the islands, the "pure" Hawaiians, constituted one of the smallest groups (0.8 percent), confirming the rapid depopulation of this group due to intermarriage.

Employment status

The data summarized in Figure 1 show that of persons 14 years of age and older, a higher proportion of Filipinos, compared with all Oahu residents, were in the labor force (59.2 percent and 55.9 percent, respectively).[6] The disparity is particularly great for females, with 54.5 percent of Filipino females, as opposed to only 49.8 percent of all females on Oahu, in the labor force. This finding perhaps reflects economic necessity and the greater independence of Filipino women vis-à-vis the home and the family.

Filipinos also compared favorably with other ethnic groups on Oahu in levels of employment within the labor force (Table 2). The unemployment rate among Filipinos (7.3 percent), along with that of Chinese (4.0 percent), Japanese (4.2 percent), Hawaiians (6.1 percent), and Portuguese (6.5 percent), was lower than that of all Oahu residents (7.9 percent). For other ethnic groups, levels of unemployment ranged from a low of 10.3 percent among Caucasians to a high of 26.4 percent among Samoans. In all cases, levels of unemployment were higher among females than among males. On the whole, Filipino males had a lower unemployment rate (4.8 percent) than all males on Oahu (6.6 percent); the reverse was true of Filipino females, who showed a higher rate of unemployment (10.5 percent) than all females on Oahu (9.7 percent).

Employment status, however, indicates only part of the situation. Adaptation and achievement in the host society can be gauged better by looking at the occupations and industries of workers and their levels of income.

Occupation

Data on the proportion of persons employed in the so-called white collar occupations (classified into professional, technical, and managerial categories on the one hand, and clerical and sales occupations on the other) are summarized in Table 3. High proportions of Oahu

6 The labor force is defined as anyone 14 years of age or older, employed or actively seeking work during the week prior to the survey.

FIGURE 1 Employment status of Filipinos and all Oahu residents 14 years and older, by sex

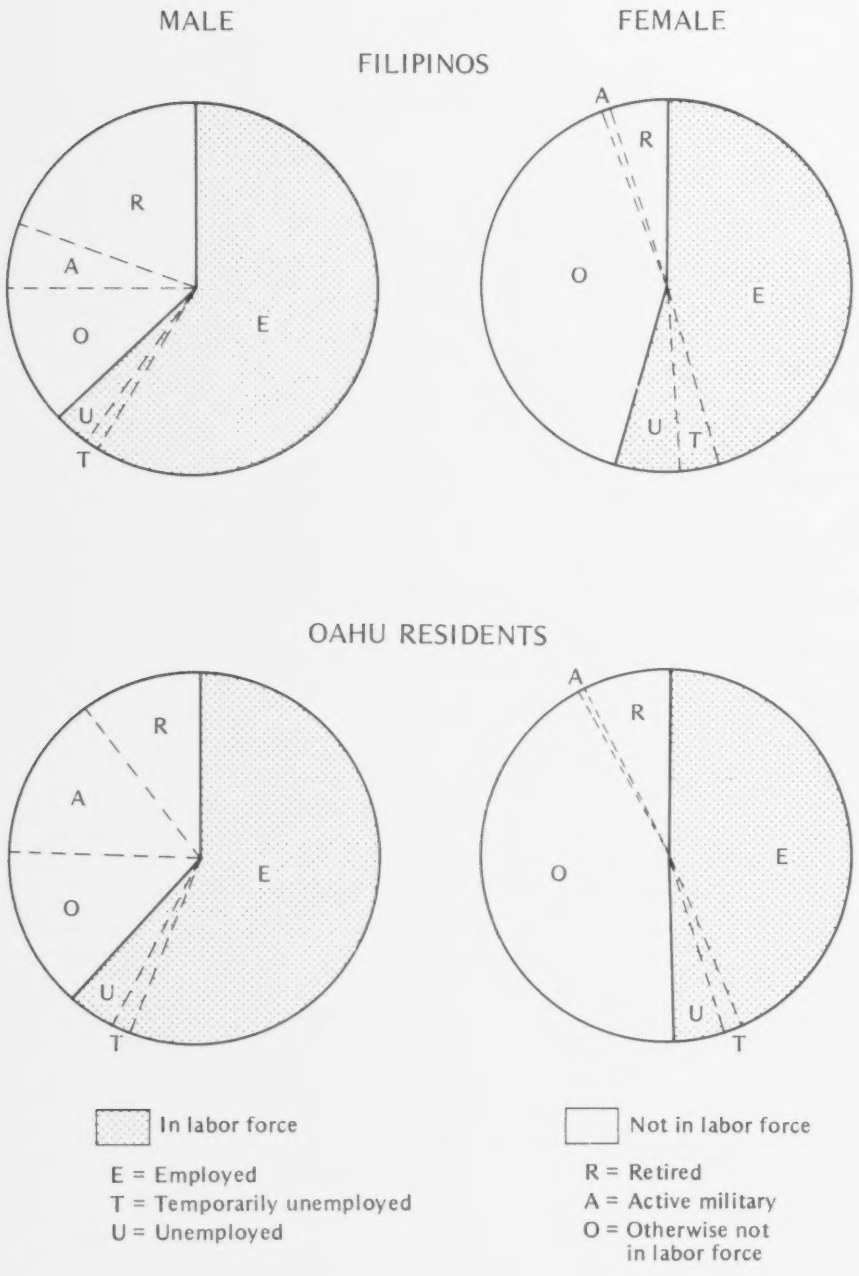


TABLE 2 Unemployed Oahu residents in the labor force, by ethnicity and sex (percent)

Ethnic group	Male	Female	Both sexes
Black	12.5	25.7	19.7
Caucasian	8.3	12.6	10.3
Portuguese	4.2	10.7	6.5
Chinese	3.4	4.7	4.0
Filipino	4.8	10.5	7.3
Hawaiian	1.3	13.5	6.1
Part-Hawaiian	11.3	14.4	12.5
Japanese	3.8	4.6	4.2
Korean	7.1	16.6	11.4
Puerto Rican	11.4	32.0	17.8
Samoan	21.1	34.2	26.4
Mixed	10.8	13.5	12.0
Other	11.5	18.7	14.4
Total	6.6	9.7	7.9

NOTE: These data refer only to the civilian labor force (14 years and over), which was classified into the categories of fully employed, temporarily employed, and unemployed. Other categories of employment status not included in the classification were active military, retired, and not in labor force.

residents were engaged in such occupations, males tending to be concentrated in the professional/technical/management jobs and females in the clerical and sales jobs.

Wide variations can be seen across ethnic groups. Filipinos had the lowest proportions of both males and females engaged in professional/technical/management occupations. Not surprisingly, the proportions in these occupations were highest among Caucasians (46.5 percent for both sexes), reflecting the traditional position of advantage that this group apparently continues to enjoy in Oahu's occupational hierarchy. Among males, Chinese and Koreans also had high proportions in the professional/technical/management occupations. For females, however, the distinctions were not so clear. As with Filipinos, low percentages in these occupations were found for Samoans, Blacks, Hawaiians, and Puerto Ricans. In the clerical and sales occupations, Filipinos of both sexes similarly ranked low, although not the lowest; Hawaiians showed a lower proportion than Filipinos.

To a large extent, occupational patterns are constrained by the

TABLE 3 Employed Oahu residents in professional/clerical occupations, by ethnicity and sex (percent)

	Male		Female		Both sexes	
Ethnic group	Professional/ technical/ management	Clerical/ sales	Professional/ technical/ management	Clerical/ sales	Professional/ technical/ management	Clerical/ sales
Black	14.4	15.1	17.9	52.7	16.2	34.0
Caucasian	52.1	12.7	39.6	39.6	46.5	24.8
Portuguese	23.1	6.6	25.0	45.5	23.7	19.8
Chinese	45.8	18.5	23.5	46.9	35.8	31.2
Filipino	11.9	8.1	17.6	32.4	14.2	18.1
Hawaiian	16.7	4.2	18.8	26.5	17.5	12.3
Part-Hawaiian	19.5	9.7	24.3	42.8	21.4	22.6
Japanese	34.0	16.3	26.1	46.4	30.4	30.1
Korean	47.7	12.0	24.6	35.3	37.9	21.9
Puerto Rican	17.3	10.2	28.4	22.1	20.2	13.3
Samoan	12.2	7.4	18.9	37.6	14.7	18.7
Mixed	20.7	8.6	26.4	48.0	23.2	26.0
Other	28.2	8.8	26.7	37.9	27.6	20.1
Total	33.3	12.9	27.9	42.6	30.9	25.8

structure of the local economy, which, on Oahu, is characterized by a small manufacturing sector and still dominated by large government and service sectors. As summarized in Table 4, more than 40 percent of all Oahu residents were employed in these two sectors, in part because of the presence of a large military establishment and in part because of the tremendous growth of tourism in recent years.

On the whole, the evidence indicates that the low rate of unemployment among Filipinos largely reflects the fact that they work in more readily available and less prestigious occupations. At the other extreme, the higher levels of unemployment among Caucasians may be traced to the relative scarcity of jobs that are commensurate with their backgrounds and apparently higher qualifications. At any rate, one expected consequence of occupational variation is the existence of corresponding differentials in income levels.

TABLE 4 Employed Oahu residents in the service and government sectors, by ethnicity and sex (percent)

Ethnic group	Male	Female	Both sexes
Black	47.0	61.7	54.3
Caucasian	45.7	51.2	48.3
Portuguese	44.0	50.5	46.3
Chinese	38.9	45.9	42.1
Filipino	34.5	46.2	39.4
Hawaiian	32.6	60.3	42.6
Part-Hawaiian	35.0	48.2	40.1
Japanese	36.9	48.4	42.2
Korean	46.1	34.8	41.3
Puerto Rican	44.2	68.9	50.6
Samoan	34.9	70.8	48.1
Mixed	37.6	42.3	39.6
Other	50.6	53.1	51.6
Total	39.1	48.6	43.2

Income

Consistent with the information on occupational status, the data presented in Table 5 show that the median income of employed Filipinos ($6,554) was one of the lowest—much lower than the median income of all Oahu residents ($8,396) and higher only than the median incomes of Samoans ($5,756) and Blacks ($5,554). On the other hand, Hawaiians ($8,455), Chinese ($9,351), Japanese ($9,234), Caucasians ($8,708), and Portuguese ($9,179) all recorded a higher median income than that of all Oahu residents.

To test whether these results are merely the product of the Filipino population being concentrated in the older, less-productive age-groups, I calculated income by age for Filipinos and compared this with figures for Caucasians and Japanese, the two largest ethnic groups (data not shown). For every age group above 25, Filipino income was lowest by far. Thus, even with age controlled, Filipino incomes are low.

On balance, the statistical evidence documents the generally lower socioeconomic status of Filipinos compared with most other ethnic groups on Oahu, and reflects their lower level of success in adapting to the larger society. Many factors may have contributed to this situation, and some of them will now be considered (also see Lind, 1967).

TABLE 5 Median income of employed Oahu residents, by ethnicity and sex

Ethnicity	Male ($)	Female ($)	Both sexes ($)	Sample (*n*)	Estimated total (*n*)
Black	6,986	4,446	5,554	63	1,353
Caucasian	13,619	5,512	8,708	2,703	49,770
Portuguese	10,986	4,987	9,179	359	6,512
Chinese	12,766	5,859	9,351	854	15,306
Filipino	9,053	4,660	6,554	1,422	24,829
Hawaiian	11,687	3,831	8,455	125	2,312
Part-Hawaiian	10,504	5,094	8,000	1,515	25,517
Japanese	12,124	6,556	9,234	4,162	74,692
Korean	11,974	6,387	8,389	177	2,825
Puerto Rican	10,205	1,814	8,080	58	908
Samoan	8,167	5,029	5,756	79	1,215
Mixed	9,795	5,202	6,880	575	9,919
Other	11,000	5,840	7,520	104	1,913
Total	11,545	5,683	8,396	12,196	217,071

Factors affecting Filipino status

Late arrival. One factor may be the late arrival of Filipinos as a group on the island. Length of residence has been shown to be closely related to variables that significantly influence migrant adaptation (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974). Of the major immigrant groups, the Filipinos were the last to arrive on the island. Those who came ahead of them, principally the Chinese and the Japanese, likely found opportunities more quickly and easily, and apparently had a better chance to get into preferred positions and to accumulate wealth and property. As will be shown later, this factor also appears to be important in explaining variations within the Filipino community itself.

Urbanization. Related to the late arrival of Filipinos is the slower pace of urbanization within their community. For instance, unlike the Chinese, who passed through the plantation stage fairly quickly because of their superior experience in a trading economy, the Filipinos were handicapped in being the last major group to arrive in Hawaii, and that handicap continues to manifest itself in their somewhat slower transition from rural (plantation) to urban residence. For example, Lind (1967:50–51) pointed out that as late as 1950 only 28.5

percent of the Filipinos in Hawaii had settled in Honolulu. A decade later, the proportion of Filipinos living in the capital city had risen to only 31.8 percent. In contrast, as early as 1930, 71.2 percent of the Chinese were already resident in Honolulu, and the very sharp urban trend of the Chinese population continued through 1950, when 82.5 percent resided in the capital city.

As shown in Table 6, only 45.8 percent of the Filipinos on Oahu were living in Honolulu in 1975, as opposed to 83.6 percent of the Chinese, 71.9 percent of the Koreans, and 63.4 percent of the Japanese. Apart from their late arrival, the slow pace at which Filipinos have moved from rural areas to Honolulu can be partly attributed to their lesser experience in a trading economy. The low percentage of Caucasians living in Honolulu in 1975 may be a reflection of a preference for suburban residence, as well as of the military population living outside the central city.

Large immigrant population. A third factor that may have contributed to the adaptation problems of Filipinos is the large proportion of immigrants within their community. Migration entails, on the one hand, the loss of social and geographic familiarity and of long-term relationships and supports in the area of origin and, on the other, the

TABLE 6 Proportions of ethnic groups on Oahu residing in Honolulu in 1975

Ethnic group	Percentage residing in Honolulu	Sample (*n*)	Estimated total (*n*)
Black	26.4	404	9,278
Caucasian	43.2	9,081	188,873
Portuguese	46.1	852	17,621
Chinese	83.6	1,777	38,117
Filipino	45.8	3,690	69,117
Hawaiian	47.9	301	5,889
Part-Hawaiian	38.3	5,045	97,335
Japanese	63.4	7,753	166,481
Korean	71.9	445	9,839
Puerto Rican	31.4	187	3,790
Samoan	49.2	337	6,440
Mixed	44.4	2,808	55,467
Other	51.9	400	9,347
Total	50.5	33,080	677,594

NOTE: "Honolulu" includes "Kalihi-Palama."

prospect of encountering resistance at the destination. The fact that a high percentage of Filipinos on Oahu have been born and nurtured outside Hawaiian and American society limits their efforts to participate in the social and economic life of the community. Nearly 55 percent of all Filipinos on Oahu in 1975 were foreign-born, easily the largest proportion among the different ethnic groups (Table 7). The next largest proportion occurred among Koreans, whose immigrants accounted for 47.9 percent of the total, followed by "other" (40.5 percent), Chinese (19.7 percent), Samoans (14.6 percent), and Japanese (9.9 percent).

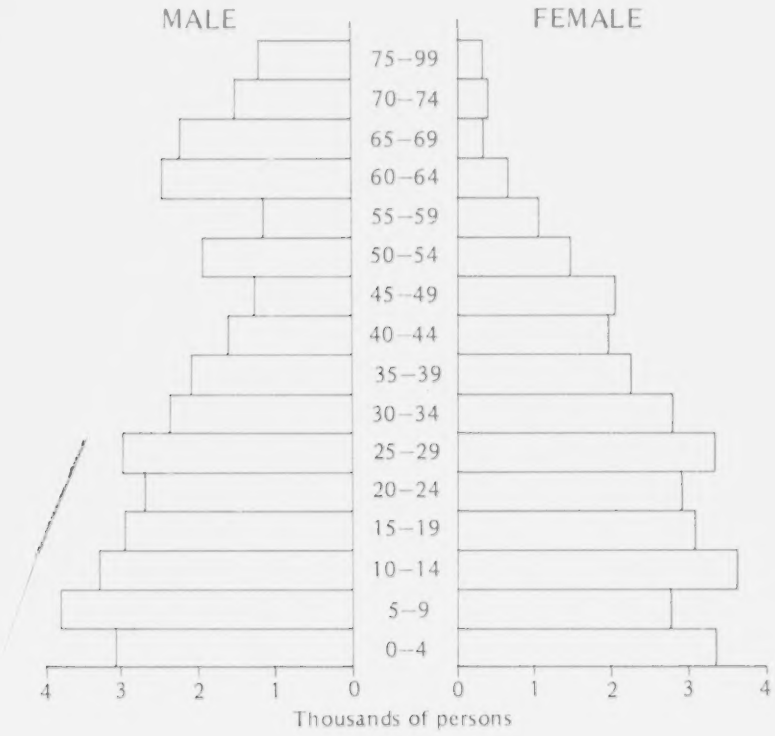
TABLE 7 Foreign-born population of Oahu by ethnicity

Ethnic group	Estimated total population	Foreign-born population		
		Number	Percentage of ethnic group	Percentage of all foreign-born
Black	9,237	144	1.6	0.2
Caucasian	188,416	11,701	6.2	13.2
Portuguese	17,621	269	1.5	0.3
Chinese	37,997	7,480	19.7	8.4
Filipino	68,760	37,262	54.2	42.0
Hawaiian	5,889	0	0.0	0.0
Part-Hawaiian	97,284	982	1.0	1.1
Japanese	166,328	16,461	9.9	18.6
Korean	9,838	4,712	47.9	5.3
Puerto Rican	3,789	216	5.7	0.2
Samoan	6,440	938	14.6	1.1
Mixed	55,447	4,834	8.7	5.4
Other	9,319	3,770	40.5	4.2
Total	676,365	88,769	13.1	100.0
Sample *n*	33,029	4,250		

Imbalance in the age-sex structure. Another factor that has apparently complicated the adaptation of the Filipino community to life on Oahu is its abnormal age-sex structure. Again, unlike the other major immigrant groups whose abnormalities of population structure have largely disappeared in recent decades, Filipinos still had disproportionate numbers of males and females at both older and younger ages in 1975 (Figures 2 and 3).

In contrast to the fairly normal age-sex distribution of all Oahu

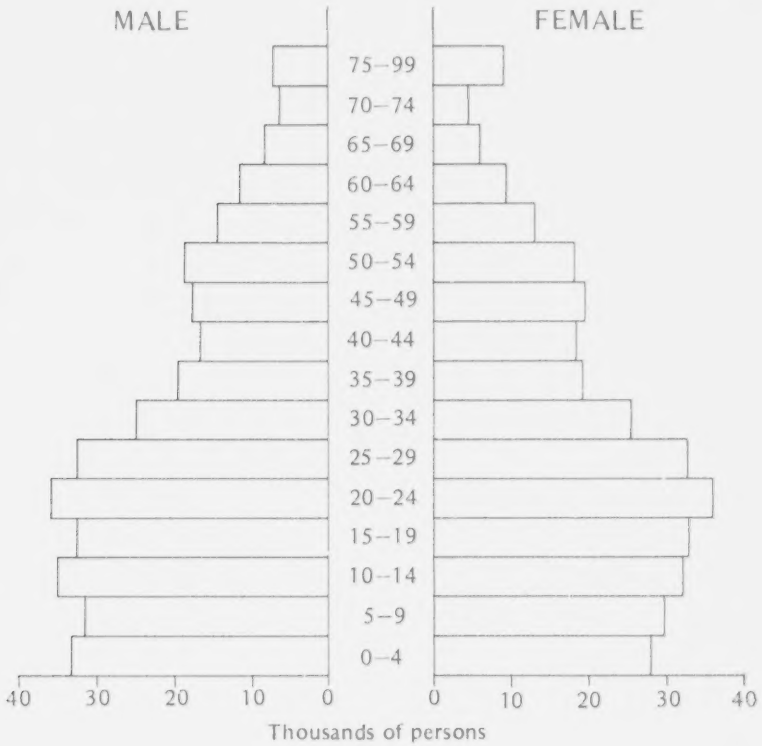
FIGURE 2 Age-sex structure of Filipinos on Oahu



residents, an irregular pattern among Filipinos is characterized by a heavy predominance of men in the age groups above 60. More than 20 percent of all males were aged 60 and above at the time of the survey, as against only 5.6 percent of all females. Hence, an exceptionally high sex ratio of 4.01:1 can be observed in this age bracket, which means that there were more than four males for every female. This demographic anomaly may be traced historically to the predominance of single male immigrants after the turn of the twentieth century, when they were brought in mainly as sugar plantation workers.

The opposite can be observed in young adult and middle-aged groups. From the age range 15–19 upwards, the sex ratio dramatically drops until it reaches a low of 0.62 in the 45–49 age group. These low sex ratios may be explained by the combined effects of the growing number of young adult female migrants in recent years, by the out-migration of young adult and middle-aged males (most probably to the United States mainland for education and employment), and by

FIGURE 3 Age-sex structure of Oahu residents



the entry of young males into the armed forces (see Gardner and Nordyke, 1974:14).

Nonetheless, the disproportions are fast disappearing, as evidenced by the decreasing discrepancy in median age between males and females. As can be seen in Table 8, Filipino males were only slightly older (median age of 29.1 years) than their female counterparts (25.8 years) in 1975. Just 15 years earlier, in 1960, the median age of all Filipino males in Hawaii was 38.6 years, compared with 16.8 years for all Filipino females, a discrepancy without parallel in the islands (Lind, 1967:36).

Table 8 also shows that Filipinos as a group were older than part-Hawaiians, Samoans, and the mixed group, but somewhat younger than Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Koreans. At any rate, the age-sex structure of the Filipino community, which was extremely uneven in the early part of the century, has led to a high rate of male celibacy, a delay in the growth of the local-born population, and a consequent

TABLE 8 Median age of Oahu residents by ethnicity and sex

Ethnic group	Male	Female	Both sexes	Sample (*n*)	Estimated total (*n*)
Black	23.8	21.2	22.6	404	9,278
Caucasian	26.7	26.1	26.4	9,080	188,850
Portuguese	37.9	33.7	35.8	852	17,622
Chinese	38.2	36.8	37.4	1,777	38,117
Filipino	29.1	25.8	27.3	3,690	69,117
Hawaiian	31.8	38.2	34.1	301	5,889
Part-Hawaiian	17.2	18.8	18.0	5,044	97,327
Japanese	33.0	36.3	34.6	7,752	166,481
Korean	33.0	33.8	33.5	445	9,839
Puerto Rican	26.1	26.7	26.3	187	3,790
Samoan	16.1	21.1	18.0	337	6,440
Mixed	12.4	14.0	13.1	2,808	55,467
Other	24.9	25.1	25.0	400	9,347
Total	25.7	26.3	26.0	33,077	677,564

lack of normal family associations and assistance in adjustment and adaptation (see also Smith, 1976:324). That this abnormal age-sex structure has contributed to the problems of assimilation was suggested by Adams (1933:26): "Since the native-born children make a greater response to the influences that count toward assimilation, and since the children, when they reach adult age, serve as intermediaries between their ancestral group and all others, it may be seen that a normal age distribution is favorable to assimilation."

Low levels of education. Still another factor that has slowed down the socioeconomic advance of Filipinos on Oahu is their generally lower levels of educational attainment. It can be attributed in part to economic need; that is, given lower income levels among parents, children are encouraged to take employment as early as possible in order to assist supporting the family.

The importance of formal education as a requisite for social and economic achievement cannot be overemphasized, given the high premium placed upon it by the host society, especially for those aspiring to move into preferred occupations. The Puerto Ricans had the lowest levels of schooling among all ethnic groups on Oahu in 1975, Hawaiians and Filipinos also averaging less than a high school education (Table 9). Among persons 25 years or older, the median period of

TABLE 9 Median highest grade attained by Oahu residents 25 years old and over, by ethnicity and sex

Ethnic group	Male	Female	Both sexes	Sample (*n*)	Estimated total (*n*)
Black	12.0	12.0	12.0	158	3,694
Caucasian	12+	12+	12+	4,781	100,785
Portuguese	12.0	12.0	12.0	559	11,324
Chinese	12.0	12.0	12.0	1,139	23,610
Filipino	10.7	12.0	11.9	1,927	34,791
Hawaiian	11.6	11.7	11.6	206	3,976
Part-Hawaiian	12.0	12.0	12.0	1,737	33,518
Japanese	12.0	12.0	12.0	4,832	103,329
Korean	12+	12.0	12.0	291	6,363
Puerto Rican	11.0	9.7	10.3	99	1,842
Samoan	12.0	11.0	12.0	122	2,287
Mixed	12.0	12.0	12.0	567	11,006
Other	12.0	12.0	12.0	200	4,603
Total	12.0	12.0	12.0	16,618	341,128

NOTE: Because of the intervals used in the OEO survey, more precise figures would be misleading. "12+" indicates "some college," but the distribution within this category was not known or assumed. "12.0" indicates that the 50th percentile fell in this category. The interval 9–11 was assumed to include all people who had finished at least the 9th grade but who had not graduated from high school; the distribution within this three-year group was assumed to be even.

schooling ranged from more than 12 years among Caucasians to a low of 10.3 years among the Puerto Ricans.[7] The somewhat higher educational levels of Filipino females than of males may be attributed to the predominance of less-educated male laborers among early migrants, whose survivors are still found in the older age groups.

Pattern of social stratification. Patterns of stratification and inequality may cross ethnic lines of participation in the occupational life of the host community. Such a problem is likely to occur when peoples of sharply contrasted ethnic and racial origins live in one geographic area. In Hawaii, the first clearly defined pattern of stratification by race was introduced on the plantations. Evidence indicates that prior to World War II, when the production of sugar and pineapple dominated Hawaii's economy, a distinct social barrier separated the large mass of nonwhite plantation laborers from the proprietary

7 A median of 12-plus years corresponds to "some college" in the OEO survey, a category between "grade 12" and "bachelor's degree" (OEO, 1976).

whites (Lind, 1967:9; see also Jocano, 1970). Although a trend toward equalization has become apparent with each passing decade, "obvious inequalities, based in part upon the [date of] arrival, the length of residence in Hawaii, and the cultural tradition which each group has perpetuated, still exist and will continue for some time in the future" (Lind, 1967:83).

The data on income and occupation examined in this paper support the contention that there is a differential distribution of wealth and that specific groups are concentrated in certain types of occupations. Caucasians, for example, tend to occupy middle- and upper-class positions, while Filipinos are found more often in blue collar occupations. For Filipinos in particular, the resistance they encounter in seeking to participate in the social and economic life of the community may be partly traced to the unfavorable stereotype created by the plantation laborers (see Jocano, 1970).

On balance, the statistical information reviewed highlights the sharp variations between ethnic groups on Oahu. It also documents the generally lower socioeconomic status of Filipinos, a phenomenon that is tied to the historical factors discussed above and to the Filipino community's lower level of adaptation. This is not to suggest that the Filipino community is homogeneous. On the contrary, it is becoming increasingly diverse—both socially and economically. This increasing differentiation must be fully understood if efforts to deal with the adaptation problems of Filipinos are to be successful.

DIVERSITIES WITHIN THE FILIPINO COMMUNITY

With a view toward providing greater insight into the socioeconomic changes that have been taking place, I shall now examine the important diversities that exist within the Filipino community on Oahu, delineating Filipino subgroups according to the apparent major sources of differentials in levels of adaptation: place of birth and recency of migration. Differences between places of residence will also be examined.

Residential patterns

A cursory examination of the geographic distribution of Filipinos on Oahu reveals obvious concentrations of them in areas with varying rural and urban characteristics. Table 10 and Figure 4 summarize

information on the place of residence of Filipinos on Oahu according to the 25 original districts delineated for the OEO survey.[8]

The data show Filipino concentration in four districts on Oahu—the adjacent areas of Kalihi-Kapalama and Upper Kalihi within central Honolulu, and the two adjacent districts of Waipahu and Ewa-Makakilo outside the city. Almost half (47.5 percent) of all Filipinos on Oahu lived in these four districts in 1975. Of the remaining 52.5 percent, some 17 percent were found in districts within Honolulu and the rest were scattered in other parts of the island.

It is even more striking that more than one-third (35.4 percent) of all Kalihi-Kapalama residents and almost 30 percent (29.7 percent) of all Upper Kalihi residents in 1975 were Filipinos. The proportions of Filipinos in the total populations of Waipahu and Ewa-Makakilo were also high: 25.4 and 23.6 percent respectively. In general, such a concentration of the Filipino community in a few districts suggests the persistence of ethnic and kinship networks among Filipinos, as well as the phenomenon of chain migration. Moreover, the concentration is increasing; the proportion of all Filipinos on Oahu in these four districts was only 44 percent in 1970 (Chai and Tong, 1974).

There are some important contrasts among the areas where Filipinos reside. Although Waipahu and Ewa-Makakilo contain part agricultural and part residential districts in addition to business districts, they are less rural and agricultural than other areas of Oahu outside Honolulu. The City of Honolulu is of course the most highly urban section of Oahu, and within it are the districts of Kalihi-Kapalama and Upper Kalihi, which represent the poorer sections of the residential and business areas. Thus, it seems appropriate to compare Filipinos living in four major areal subdivisions that roughly represent a rural-urban continuum. For this comparison Kalihi-Kapalama and Upper Kalihi are merged to constitute the first subdivision (hereinafter referred to as Kalihi-Palama); the rest of Honolulu (Other Honolulu) is the second subdivision; Waipahu and Ewa-Makakilo (Waipahu-Ewa) are combined to form the third; and the rest of Oahu (Other Oahu) is the fourth. The pattern that emerged from the data shows some form of spatial class segregation to have taken place. In general, the areas of concentration also contain the poorer segments of the Filipino community.

8 The OEO districts as shown in Figure 4 were created for sampling purposes by combining census tracts, and are different from the administrative and political districts of Oahu.

TABLE 10 Filipinos on Oahu, by district of residence

Number of Filipinos in OEO districts, by district name (and OEO number)	Estimated 1975 population	Filipinos		
		Estimated number	Proportion to district population	Percentage distribution
>10,000				
Kalihi-Kapalama (11)	29,497	10,616	35.4	15.7
6,000–9,999				
Upper Kalihi (10)	30,180	8,974	29.7	13.3
Waipahu (16)	30,022	7,623	25.4	11.3
3,000–5,999				
Mililani-Waipio (19)	32,005	5,697	17.8	8.4
Ewa-Makakilo (17)	20,578	4,866	23.6	7.2
Moanalua-Salt Lake (12)	40,741	4,242	10.4	6.3
Waianae Coast (18)	26,926	3,114	11.6	4.6
North Shore-Waialua (21)	13,675	3,041	22.2	4.5
1,000–2,999				
Wahiawa-Schofield (20)	32,935	2,688	8.2	4.0
Downtown-Kakaako (08)	17,729	2,634	14.9	3.9
Aiea-Halawa (13)	23,000	2,138	9.3	3.2
Moiliili-Makiki (06)	38,793	1,985	5.1	2.9
Pearl Harbor (15)	20,425	1,915	9.4	2.8
Pearl City (14)	28,418	1,632	5.7	2.4
Kaneohe (23)	41,620	1,627	3.9	2.4
500–999				
Waimanalo (25)	8,435	966	11.5	1.4
Nuuanu-Punchbowl (09)	26,174	783	3.0	1.2
Upper Windward (22)	17,205	592	3.4	0.9
Manoa-Makiki (05)	40,453	577	1.4	0.9
<500				
Kailua (24)	40,722	450	1.1	0.7
Kaimuki-Kapahulu (03)	27,775	418	1.5	0.6
Waikiki (07)	17,096	292	1.7	0.4
Wilhelmina-Palolo (04)	29,459	267	1.1	0.4
Aina Haina (01)	26,191	201	0.1	0.3
Waialae-Kahala (02)	18,795	162	0.1	0.2
Total	678,979	67,500	10.4	100.0
Sample *n*	33,142	3,690		

FIGURE 4 Distribution of Filipinos on Oahu, by district of residence

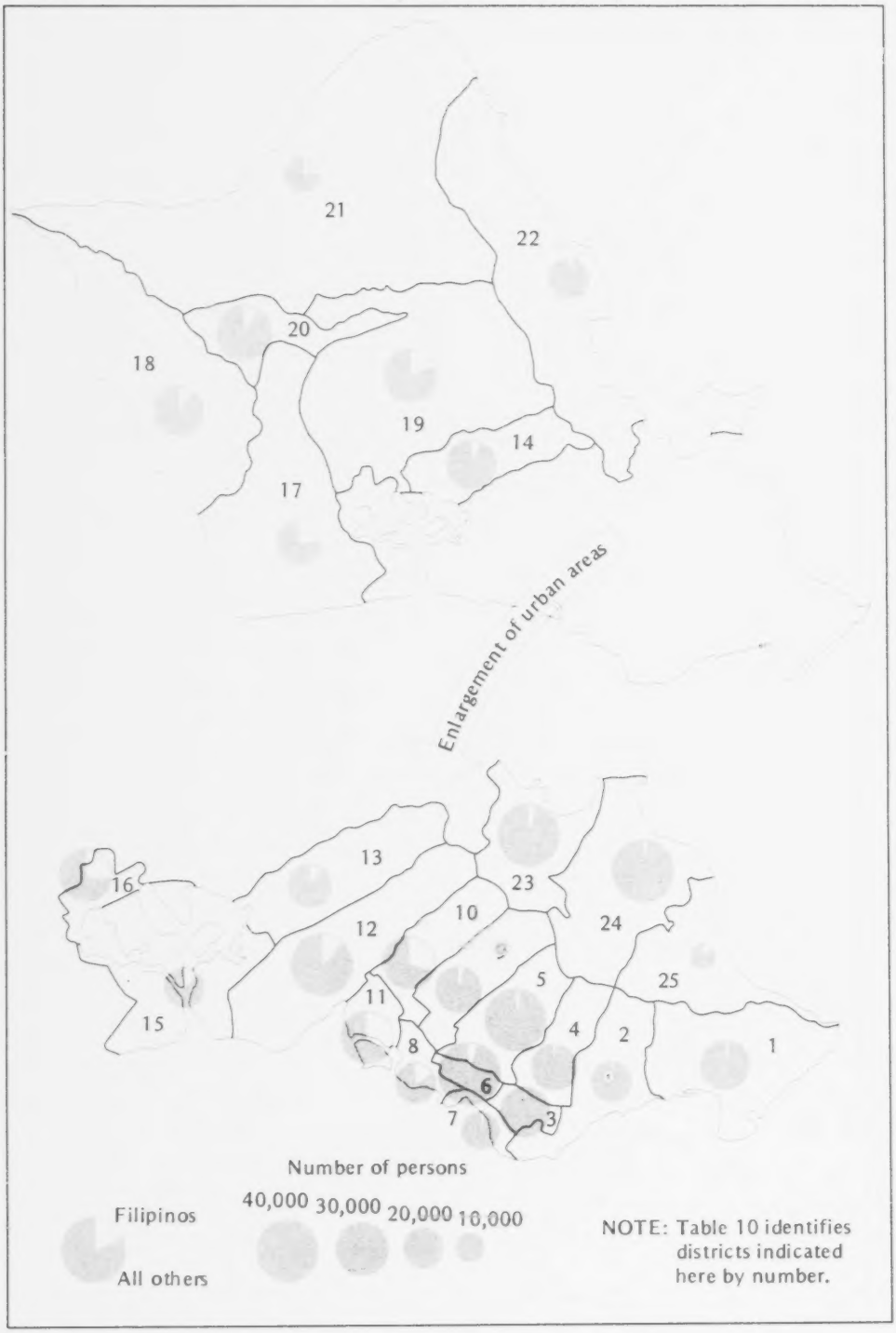


TABLE 11 Place of birth of Filipinos on Oahu, by place of residence (percent)

Place of birth	Place of residence				Total
	Kalihi-Palama	Waipahu-Ewa	Other Honolulu	Other Oahu	
Oahu	29.8	40.4	25.9	43.6	36.0
Other country	65.8	53.6	59.2	42.9	54.3
Other U.S.	4.4	6.0	15.0	13.5	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample *n*	951	837	405	1,478	3,671
Estimated total *n*	19,679	12,498	11,820	24,776	68,764

Aside from differences in urban-rural characteristics, important contrasts were found among the geographic subdivisions in the relative proportion of the immigrant population. Table 11 indicates that 65.8 percent of Kalihi-Palama's Filipino population was foreign-born, compared with only 42.9 percent for the rest of Oahu. The proportions of immigrant Filipinos in Waipahu-Ewa and Other Honolulu were intermediate, making up more than half of the total Filipino population in these areas. On the other hand, Other Oahu and Other Honolulu housed higher proportions of Filipinos born in other parts of the United States.

Finally, Filipinos in the four areas showed some differences in age patterns. The median age for Kalihi-Palama was 26.8; for Waipahu-Ewa, 25.4; for Other Honolulu, 29.3; and for Other Oahu, 27.1. Other variations among Filipino residential communities will be noted as differentials among various Filipino subgroups are examined.

Sociodemographic variations among Filipino subgroups

As previously indicated, Filipinos on Oahu were classified according to whether they were born on Oahu (nonmigrants) or in another country (foreign-born migrants). In addition, an "All Migrants" category has been included in the analysis to encompass both foreign-born migrants and those born outside Oahu but within Hawaii or other parts of the United States.[9] Because the immigrant tends to be less suc-

9 It is not meaningful to treat those born outside Oahu but within the United States as a separate category because of the smallness of the sample.

cessful in adapting to the new environment–aside from expected variations in age-sex structure–the three groups were likely to be differentiated in their socioeconomic attributes, with the foreign-born Filipinos generally occupying the lower levels of the receiving society's social and economic strata.

Among foreign-born Filipinos on Oahu, important socioeconomic differences seem to be related to time of arrival. By looking at the characteristics of the foreign-born population, my aim was to delineate the differences that existed between the early migrants and those who had moved in more recent years. Filipinos who immigrated at three periods were compared and contrasted: (1) those who came before World War II, or immigrants who have been in Hawaii more than 30 years; (2) those who migrated after the war but before the 1965 amendments to the immigration law became fully effective; and (3) those who arrived after the full implementation of the amendments in 1968. These comparisons were intended to test the thesis that length of residence in Hawaii affects the success and adaptation of migrants in the host community.

Employment status. Comparative data on the employment status of foreign-born and nonmigrant Filipinos, graphically presented in Figure 5, indicate that, of those over 14, a higher proportion of nonmigrants (61.8 percent), as compared with foreign-born Filipinos (56.9 percent), was in the labor force. It is also noteworthy that the discrepancy was wider among males. As will be shown, the discrepancy can easily be traced to an older age distribution among foreign-born males and the consequent high proportion of retired persons. Paradoxically, the unemployment level among nonmigrants (10.5 percent) was much higher than among either the foreign-born (6.5 percent) or all migrants (6.3 percent). Data on unemployment levels are summarized in Table 12. The data document the pattern of class segregation across residential areas referred to earlier. The areas of concentration, Kalihi-Palama and Waipahu-Ewa, had much lower unemployment rates than either Other Honolulu or Other Oahu.

The evidence gathered shows that socioeconomic differentials also exist among foreign-born Filipinos. The data presented in Table 13 suggest, first, that employment status is largely a function of length of residence in Hawaii. Unemployment levels were highest for the most recent migrants (9.6 percent). They were much lower for migrants who had stayed in Hawaii 8 to 29 years (3.2 percent), and negligible

FIGURE 5 Employment status of Oahu-born and foreign-born Filipinos, by migration status and by sex: 1975

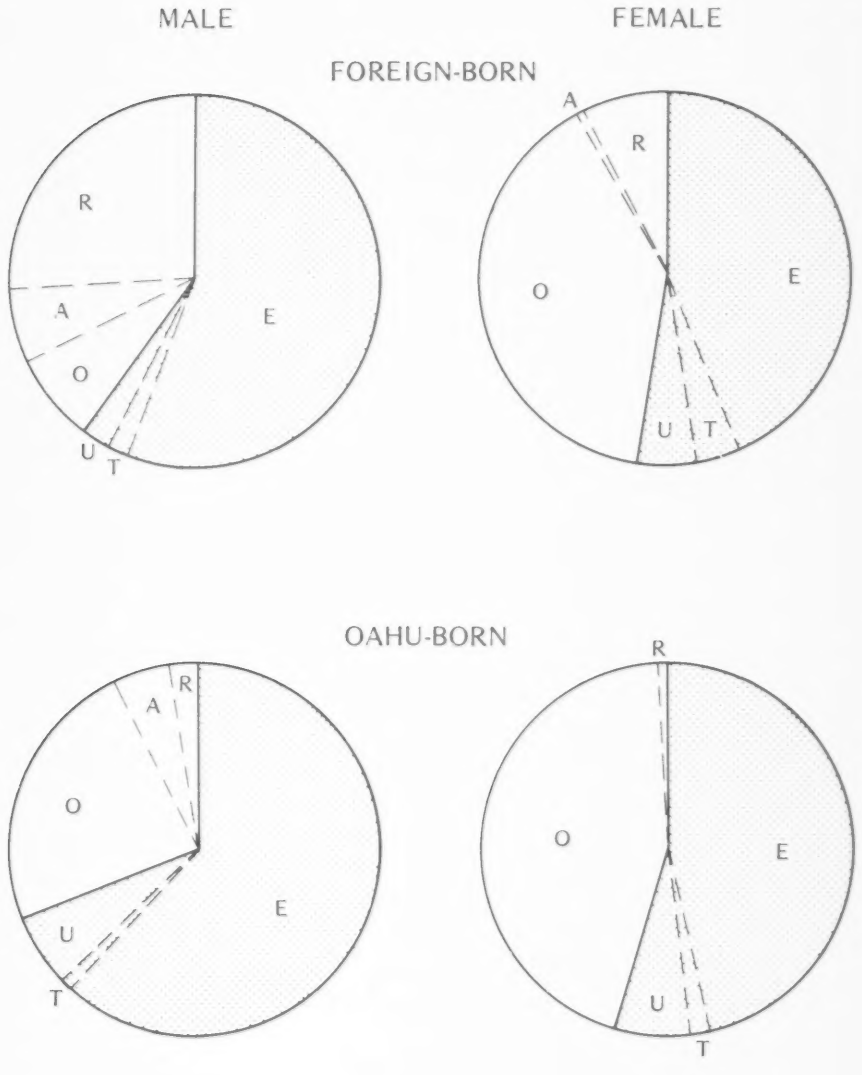


TABLE 12 Unemployed Filipinos in the labor force, by migration status, place of residence, and sex (percent)

Migration status by sex	Place of residence				Total
	Kalihi-Palama	Waipahu-Ewa	Other Honolulu	Other Oahu	
Male					
Nonmigrants	0.0	3.6	16.9	9.7	9.0
Foreign-born	4.3	2.8	6.7	2.6	4.1
All migrants	3.9	3.3	5.5	2.0	3.6
Total	3.5	3.4	8.4	4.3	4.8
Female					
Nonmigrants	13.7	2.6	14.0	14.7	12.3
Foreign-born	5.7	5.8	23.7	10.4	10.1
All migrants	5.3	5.1	21.8	10.3	10.0
Total	6.5	4.2	19.5	11.7	10.5
Both sexes					
Nonmigrants	7.4	3.2	15.6	12.0	10.5
Foreign-born	4.9	3.9	12.7	6.0	6.5
All migrants	4.5	3.9	11.8	5.6	6.3
Total	4.8	3.7	12.8	7.4	7.3

for the very first immigrants (0.9 percent). Such a pattern undoubtedly reflects the adjustment problems encountered by immigrants during their first years of residence on the island, especially in their search for suitable employment. It also suggests that many Filipino immigrants have moved to Hawaii without prearranged employment.

TABLE 13 Unemployed foreign-born Filipinos in the labor force, by years in Hawaii and sex (percent)

Years in Hawaii	Male	Female	Both sexes
0–7	6.8	13.0	9.6
8–29	1.2	5.7	3.2
30 and over	1.1	0.0	0.9
Total	4.1	10.0	6.5

Occupational status. Employment status, however, seems to depend largely on economic need. Compared with the local-born Filipinos, the immigrant population, and the foreign-born in particular, have accepted lower status, lower-paying, blue-collar jobs as documented in Table 14. Although 20.5 percent of all nonmigrants were in professional/technical/management occupations, the figure was only 11.3 percent for foreign-born Filipinos, and 12.2 percent for all Filipino migrants. A similar trend can be observed with respect to clerical/sales occupations. While 26.0 percent of all nonmigrants were found in these occupations, the proportions of foreign-born Filipinos (13.2 percent) and all Filipino migrants (15.7 percent) were much smaller. The pattern across residential areas also reappears: Filipinos in the areas of concentration (Kalihi-Palama and Waipahu-Ewa) had lower occupational status than those living in other parts of Honolulu and Oahu.

Within the foreign-born group, the old-timers, as may be expected from their essentially rural and nonprofessional background, had lower occupational status than the more recent arrivals. As shown in Table 15, only 8.3 percent of the prewar immigrants were in professional/technical/management positions, compared with 13.8 percent of immigrants present eight to 29 years, and 10.7 percent of the most recent arrivals. The same pattern generally holds for clerical and sales positions.

As shown in Table 16, larger proportions of migrants than of nonmigrants were employed in agriculture, and such proportions were especially high for foreign-born Filipinos, a further manifestation of their essentially rural backgrounds. Across residential areas, the predominantly agricultural base of Waipahu-Ewa and Other Oahu is reflected in the high proportions employed in the agricultural sector.

Among foreign-born Filipinos, the essentially rural and agricultural experience of the old-timers is further substantiated by the data presented in Table 17. Of immigrants who had been in Hawaii more than 30 years, 12.9 percent were employed in the agricultural sector, as opposed to only 7.7 percent of the most recent migrants and 8.0 percent of migrants present eight to 29 years. Particularly noteworthy is the even greater contrast between the old-timers and more recent migrants in the proportion of immigrant females employed in agriculture. As Table 15 indicates, the rise in the proportion of professionals was even more rapid among females than among males, although a slight

TABLE 14 Employed Filipinos on Oahu in professional/clerical occupations, by migration status, place of residence, and sex (percent)

Migration status by sex	Kalihi-Palama		Waipahu-Ewa		Other Honolulu		Other Oahu		Total	
	P/T/M[a]	C/S[b]	P/T/M	C/S	P/T/M	C/S	P/T/M	C/S	P/T/M	C/S
Male										
Nonmigrants	8.4	12.4	15.3	8.7	31.7	8.0	13.6	9.3	17.2	9.3
Foreign-born	4.6	6.2	8.0	1.0	18.5	8.8	10.0	8.4	9.4	6.6
All migrants	4.7	6.6	8.7	0.9	20.5	8.5	10.0	12.0	10.2	7.9
Total	5.6	7.2	10.8	3.4	23.0	8.3	11.0	11.1	11.9	8.1
Female										
Nonmigrants	19.8	45.0	20.2	55.3	29.3	46.8	26.1	43.5	24.6	46.7
Foreign-born	11.4	17.5	9.7	14.1	22.5	42.9	16.1	26.7	14.1	23.2
All migrants	12.8	18.4	8.4	18.6	22.9	48.2	16.6	31.1	15.1	27.4
Total	13.6	22.3	13.1	31.2	25.0	47.7	19.5	34.9	17.6	32.4
Both sexes										
Nonmigrants	14.1	28.7	17.3	28.1	30.6	25.4	19.1	24.2	20.5	26.0
Foreign-born	7.6	11.1	8.6	5.8	19.7	19.1	12.5	16.0	11.3	13.2
All migrants	8.2	11.7	8.6	7.5	21.3	21.9	6.5	19.9	12.2	15.7
Total	9.1	13.9	11.7	14.2	23.7	22.8	14.5	21.1	14.2	18.1

a Professional/technical/management.
b Clerical/sales.

TABLE 15 Employed foreign-born Filipinos in professional/clerical occupations, by years in Hawaii and sex (percent)

Years in Hawaii	Male	Female	Both sexes
Professional/technical/management			
0–7	8.5	13.6	10.7
8–29	11.1	17.4	13.8
30 and over	9.5	2.7	8.3
Total	9.4	14.1	11.3
Clerical/sales			
0–7	7.2	25.0	15.0
8–29	7.1	21.0	13.1
30 and over	4.2	17.0	6.6
Total	6.6	23.2	13.2

TABLE 16 Filipinos on Oahu employed in agriculture, by migration status, place of residence, and sex (percent)

	Place of residence				
Migration status by sex	Kalihi-Palama	Waipahu-Ewa	Other Honolulu	Other Oahu	Total
Male					
Nonmigrants	0.0	10.1	0.0	3.7	3.8
Foreign-born	3.1	25.1	5.4	17.8	10.9
All migrants	2.8	22.4	4.4	14.1	9.4
Total	2.5	18.5	3.3	11.0	8.1
Female					
Nonmigrants	4.7	2.0	0.0	3.4	2.6
Foreign-born	1.2	11.4	3.9	7.9	4.9
All migrants	1.1	9.9	2.7	6.8	4.3
Total	1.6	7.0	1.8	5.7	3.8
Both sexes					
Nonmigrants	2.4	6.7	0.0	3.6	3.2
Foreign-born	2.3	20.1	5.0	13.7	8.5
All migrants	2.1	17.7	3.8	11.1	7.4
Total	2.1	14.0	2.8	8.8	6.3

TABLE 17 Foreign-born Filipinos employed in agriculture, by years in Hawaii and sex (percent)

Years in Hawaii	Male	Female	Both sexes
0–7	10.3	4.3	7.7
8–29	11.2	3.7	8.0
30 and over	12.2	15.8	12.9
Total	10.9	4.9	8.5

decline in the proportion can be observed among the latest migrants. The decline can probably be attributed to the increasing number of Filipinos who immigrate on the basis of kinship, rather than professional qualifications. On the whole, these trends reflect, on one hand, the growing importance in Hawaii of the other sectors of the economy (especially tourism and service industries) and, on the other, the declining importance of the agricultural sector.

Income. Similar differentials among the same groups can be observed in personal income. In 1975 the median annual income of nonmigrants of both sexes was higher than that of foreign-born migrants (Table 18). Of all residential areas, Kalihi-Palama had the lowest median income. The surprisingly high median income in Waipahu-Ewa may be due to the relatively high proportion of residents who, despite relatively low occupational status, had lived in the area for a longer period and were therefore more settled than residents of other areas.

Table 19 substantiates this hypothesis. Whereas 47.0 percent of the residents of Waipahu-Ewa had stayed in the same house for at least the past five years, the proportions were much lower in the other areas, ranging from 40.3 percent in Kalihi-Palama and 30.0 percent in Other Honolulu to a low of 12.7 percent in Other Oahu.

Interestingly, within the foreign-born group, the data reveal that occupational status is not necessarily a principal determinant of income and suggest that length of residence may be more important (Table 20). Despite the higher occupational status of newcomers, they had lower incomes than the earliest migrants. As expected, males earned higher incomes than females, but both sexes evidenced the same pattern of increasing income as one moves from the most recent to earlier migrants. Income, therefore, seems to be largely a function of time spent in the recipient community. Newcomers, apparently even those

TABLE 18 Median income of employed Filipinos on Oahu, by migration status, place of residence, and sex (U.S. dollars)

Migration status by sex	Place of residence				Total
	Kalihi-Palama	Waipahu-Ewa	Other Honolulu	Other Oahu	
Male					
Nonmigrants	6,756	10,524	9,488	10,479	9,757
Foreign-born	8,000	8,960	6,970	8,989	8,529
All migrants	8,108	9,266	7,628	9,506	8,896
Total	7,838	9,660	8,277	9,711	9,091
Sample *n*	214	164	94	285	757
Estimated total *n*	4,377	2,369	2,739	4,916	14,401
Female					
Nonmigrants	5,144	5,932	4,922	4,459	5,225
Foreign-born	4,066	4,736	4,133	5,000	4,441
All migrants	4,083	4,650	4,471	5,071	4,497
Total	4,160	5,084	4,634	5,006	4,613
Sample *n*	167	102	52	203	524
Estimated total *n*	3,404	1,532	1,557	3,597	10,091
Both sexes					
Nonmigrants	5,539	8,263	7,945	6,889	7,102
Foreign-born	5,496	6,922	6,195	6,427	6,111
All migrants	5,593	7,058	6,365	6,711	6,362
Total	5,580	7,514	6,623	6,786	6,516
Sample *n*	381	266	146	488	1,281
Estimated total *n*	7,781	3,901	4,296	8,513	24,492

with professional qualifications, generally occupied lower-paying jobs in their early years of adjustment.

The effect of age distribution on income variations was similarly tested. For all age groups above 18, and for both sexes, the foreign-born Filipinos always had lower median incomes than nonmigrants (data not shown). Similarly, within the foreign-born group, the recent arrivals consistently showed lower income levels than the early migrants. Thus, even when the effect of age distribution is taken into account, the same variations can generally be observed.

TABLE 19 Filipinos on Oahu, by place of residence and residence five years before survey (percent)

Residence five years before survey (1970)	Current residence: Kalihi-Palama	Waipahu-Ewa	Other Honolulu	Other Oahu	Total
Same house	40.3	47.0	30.0	12.7	39.9
Other house	27.9	28.2	33.2	41.0	32.6
Other island	0.4	0.7	0.3	38.2	0.7
Other U.S. state	0.8	7.6	6.9	1.0	4.2
Other U.S. possession	1.7	1.4	2.6	3.8	2.4
Other country	28.9	15.1	27.0	3.3	20.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample *n*	592	610	279	1,148	2,629
Estimated total *n*	19,855	12,510	11,839	24,915	69,120

All in all, the data highlight important contrasts between Filipino migrants and nonmigrants among selected dimensions of socioeconomic status. On the whole, the Filipino immigrants stand below the nonmigrants in the host society's social and economic structure, reflecting their handicap in being socialized elsewhere. Similar variations exist among Filipino migrants of various periods. The data show that more recent migrants have higher occupational status than the early migrants. The advantage of the old-timers, however, in having stayed longer in the host society is reflected in their having generally higher levels of income.

Aside from such factors as place of birth and recency of migration, several other sociodemographic differences among various groups

TABLE 20 Median income of employed Filipino immigrants on Oahu, by years in Hawaii and sex (U.S. dollars)

Years in Hawaii	Male	Female	Both sexes	Sample (*n*)	Estimated total (*n*)
0–7	7,183	4,169	5,349	430	8,753
8–29	10,280	4,837	7,127	267	4,871
30 and over	9,078	5,035	7,989	107	2,107
Total	8,529	4,441	6,111	804	15,730

within the Filipino community appear to have contributed to their varying success in adapting to the new society. Some of these will now be considered.

Demographic differences. The age-sex structure of Filipino migrant and nonmigrant groups is illustrated in Figures 6 and 7, which show vividly that the abnormalities in the population structure of the Filipino community as a whole can be attributed largely to disproportions in the age-sex composition of the immigrant population.

The contrast between the two pyramids is easily discernible. The broad-based, essentially normal structure of the nonmigrant group differs sharply from the narrow-based, highly irregular distribution of the foreign-born population, characterized by the overwhelming predominance of males in the age group 60 years and over. As previously mentioned, this irregularity can be traced to the predominantly male migration from the Philippines in the early part of the century as laborers were recruited for the island's sugar and pineapple plantations.

As we examine Figure 8, however, it becomes apparent that only the prewar migrants were characterized by disproportionately high sex ratios. Indeed, the contrast within the Filipino immigrant population is equally sharp. Whereas the population structure of the old-

FIGURE 6 Age-sex structure of Filipino migrants on Oahu

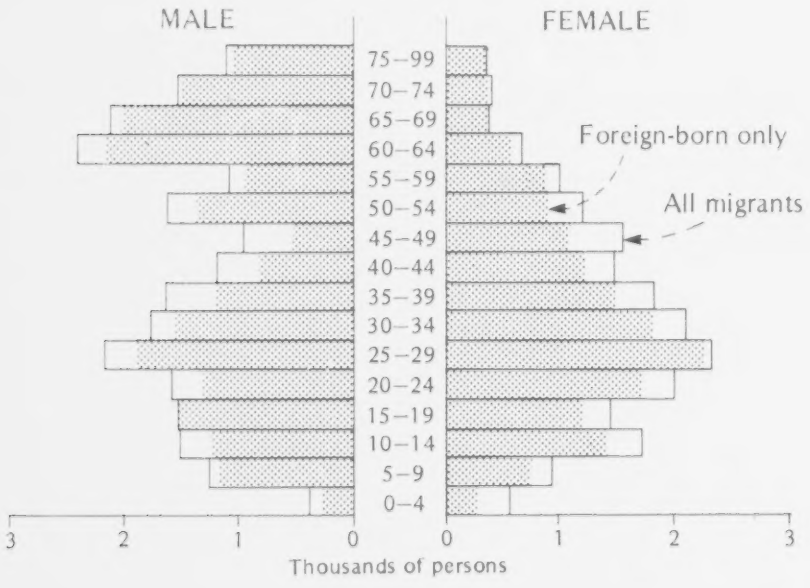
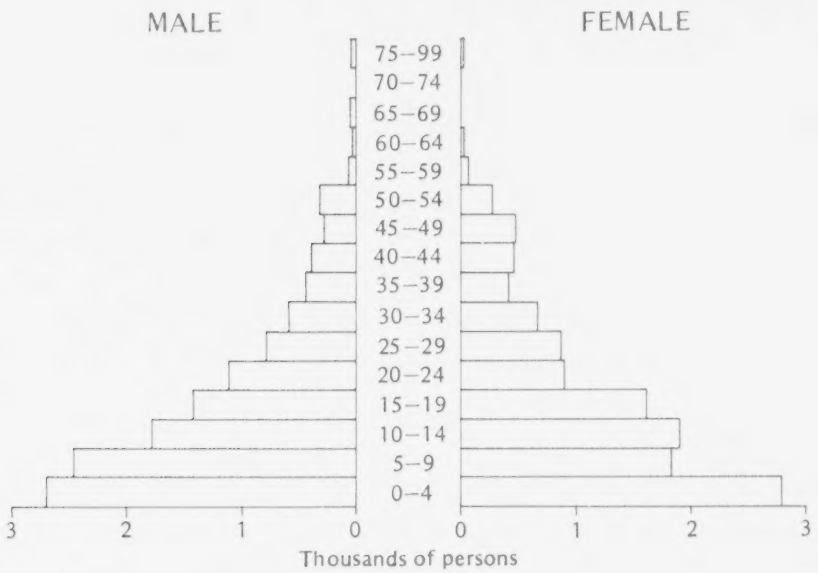


FIGURE 7 Age-sex structure of Oahu-born Filipinos



timers is characterized by an overwhelming predominance of males, the age-sex distribution of the more recent migrants is much more balanced, with a slight predominance of females in some young adult categories. There were more than four males for every female among the earliest migrants. The sex ratio was 97 (that is, 97 males to each 100 females) among migrants who had lived on Oahu for eight to 29 years and 90 among the most recent immigrants. The consequences of such an imbalance among the earliest migrants cannot be overemphasized: The high proportion of Filipino males who were denied normal family associations and sex relations has led to "certain forms of mental breakdown, sex delinquencies and crimes of passion" (Lind, 1967: 36–37).

The contrast between migrants and nonmigrants can also be seen in the great disparity in median age (Table 21). Whereas the nonmigrants had a median age of 13.6, that of the foreign-born was 35.6. This disparity was even greater among males as nonmigrant males were younger than their female counterparts, whereas foreign-born males were older than foreign-born females. The median age of foreign-born males was 41.4, as against only 13.0 of the nonmigrant males.

Differentials in age-sex structure are also manifested in variations in

FIGURE 8 Age-sex structure of Filipino immigrants on Oahu by years in Hawaii and by sex

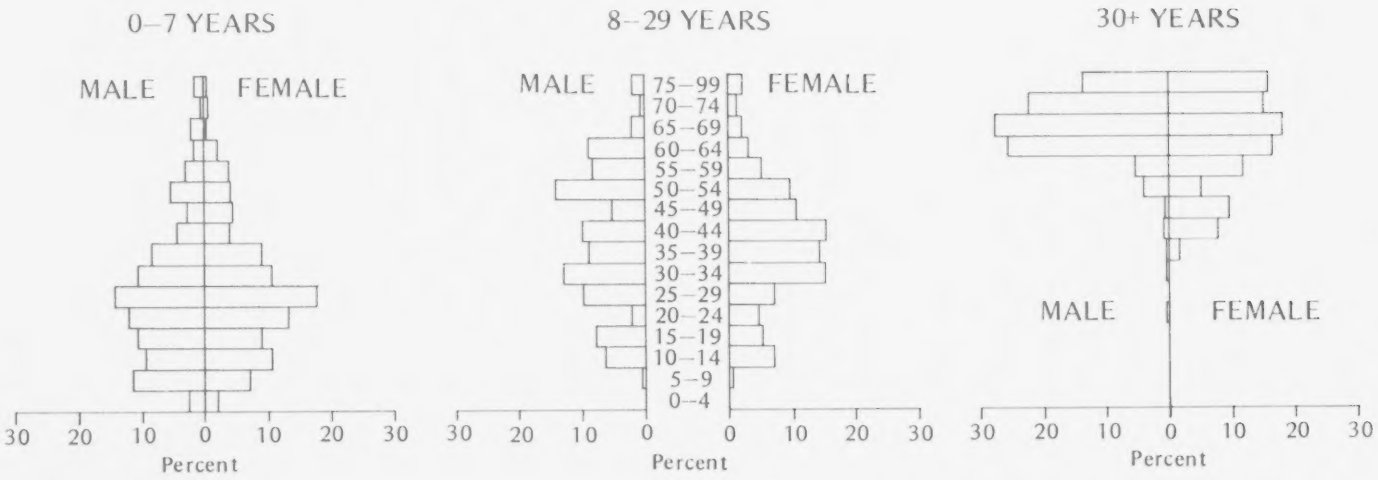


TABLE 21 Median age of Filipinos on Oahu, by migration status and sex

Migration status	Male	Female	Both sexes	Sample (*n*)	Estimated total (*n*)
Nonmigrants	13.0	14.1	13.6	1,397	24,783
Foreign-born	41.4	32.0	35.6	1,925	37,265
All migrants	40.2	32.1	35.8	2,274	43,982
Total	29.1	25.8	27.4	3,671	68,765

marriage patterns. In general, migrants were more likely to be married than the local-born population (Table 22). A closer look at specific age groups, however, reveals that the proportion married was higher only among migrants in the young adult category. Beyond age 30, the proportions remaining single were higher for the foreign-born and migrant populations than for the nonmigrants. The much lower percentage of never married females among the middle-aged Oahu-born is probably a reflection of a higher incidence of intermarriage with

TABLE 22 Never-married Filipinos on Oahu, by broad age groups, migration status, and sex (percent)

	Age group			
Migration status by sex	15–29	30–49	50+	Total
Male				
Nonmigrants	69.3	9.7	4.8	45.4
Foreign-born	55.7	10.9	12.1	23.0
All migrants	55.1	11.0	12.1	22.7
Total	58.9	10.7	11.9	24.1
Female				
Nonmigrants	62.7	2.6	2.7	37.8
Foreign-born	36.6	8.1	0.9	16.6
All migrants	38.6	7.8	0.8	16.9
Total	48.7	7.2	1.0	21.0
Both sexes				
Nonmigrants	65.9	5.8	3.9	41.5
Foreign-born	45.5	9.3	8.9	20.1
All migrants	46.3	9.2	8.8	20.1
Total	53.8	8.7	8.7	23.1

males of other ethnic groups (which indicates a higher degree of assimilation), as well as the slight predominance of females among immigrants in the middle age groups.

Within the foreign-born population, the higher proportions of both men and women remaining single among more recent migrants can be largely attributed to the younger age distributions of the newcomers (Table 23). For the age group 50 years old and over, however, the proportion never married was highest among the earliest male immigrants, reflecting even more vividly the predominance of single males in early migratory movements.

Differentials in educational levels. Differentials in educational attainment are another factor that may have contributed to varying levels of adaptation. Table 24 shows that median number of years of schooling was 12 for nonmigrants compared with only 8.5 for foreign-born Filipinos. The number for all migrants (9.0) was between these two extremes, which means that Filipinos born in other parts of the U.S. also had higher levels of schooling than the foreign-born. Again,

TABLE 23 Foreign-born, never-married Filipinos, by broad age groups, years in Hawaii, and sex (percent)

	Years in Hawaii			
Age group by sex	0–7	8–29	30+	Total
Male				
15–29	55.9	65.3	0.0	60.7
30–49	12.9	4.8	12.2	10.6
50+	0.0	7.3	15.2	11.9
Total	31.9	39.0	12.9	26.2
Female				
15–29	36.6	58.7	0.0	47.3
30–49	10.0	5.7	3.9	6.7
50+	1.4	1.3	0.5	1.0
Total	22.0	35.0	2.7	22.2
Both sexes				
15–29	45.4	62.0	0.0	53.7
30–49	11.3	5.3	7.7	8.4
50+	1.1	4.9	12.2	8.7
Total	26.6	37.0	9.7	24.4

TABLE 24 Median highest grade attained by Filipinos on Oahu 25 years old and over, by migration status, place of residence, and sex (percent)

Migration status by sex	Place of residence				Total
	Kalihi-Palama	Waipahu-Ewa	Other Honolulu	Other Oahu	
Male					
Nonmigrants	12.0	12.0	12.0	12.0	12.0
Foreign-born	6.2	7.2	8.7	8.8	7.7
All migrants	6.6	7.6	9.8	9.8	8.4
Total	6.8	9.4	12.0	11.4	9.8
Sample *n*	262	226	143	411	1,042
Estimated total *n*	5,562	3,393	4,148	6,960	20,064
Female					
Nonmigrants	12.0	12.0	12+	12.0	12.0
Foreign-born	8.5	8.8	12.0	12.0	10.2
All migrants	8.7	11.1	12.0	12.0	11.3
Total	9.5	12.0	12.0	12.0	12.0
Sample *n*	226	190	98	359	873
Estimated total *n*	4,722	2,870	2,982	6,014	16,588
Both sexes					
Nonmigrants	12.0	12.0	12.0	12.0	12.0
Foreign-born	7.1	7.7	9.0	10.3	8.5
All migrants	7.5	8.2	12.0	11.0	9.0
Total	7.9	10.2	12.0	12.0	11.2
Sample *n*	488	416	241	770	1,915
Estimated total *n*	10,284	6,263	7,130	12,974	36,652

See note to Table 9.

differentials can be discerned across residential areas. In accordance with their lower occupational levels, Filipino residents of Kalihi-Palama and Waipahu-Ewa appear to have attained lower educational levels. The discrepancy is again greater among males than among females, as the migrant females seem to have had slightly more schooling than their male counterparts.

The same variations can once more be observed among foreign-born Filipinos and partly explain differentials in occupational status and income. The much higher skills and qualifications of the more recent

TABLE 25 Median highest grade attained by foreign-born Filipinos, by years in Hawaii and sex

Years in Hawaii	Male	Female	Both sexes	Sample (*n*)	Estimated total (*n*)
0–7	12.0	12.0	12.0	1,052	11,827
8–29	11.2	9.4	10.5	448	6,728
30 and over	4.7	5.7	4.9	387	7,301
Total	7.7	10.2	8.5	1,887	25,856

See note to Table 9.

migrants are reflected in the overwhelming disparity in median years of schooling—from a high of 12 years for the latest migrants to a low of 4.9 years for the earliest migrants (Table 25). The number (10.5 years) for migrants present on Oahu for eight to 29 years was lower than that for the most recent migrants (12.0 years).

The statistical information examined here clearly delineates two major groups within the Filipino community, and one is in many ways sharply distinct from the other. At one extreme we find the nonmigrants, the local-born Filipinos who were socialized within the American culture, characterized by a fairly balanced age-sex structure and relatively high levels of educational attainment, occupational status, and income. At the other extreme are the foreign-born Filipinos, less familiar with the opportunity structure of the new environment, who are characterized by an uneven age-sex structure, many without the benefit of a normal family life, and generally standing below the nonmigrants in important dimensions of adaptation. In turn, these differentials are enhanced by a certain degree of segregation to areas where the poorer segments of the Filipino population appear to have clustered, especially within the highly urbanized central core of Honolulu.

The statistical data also document the rapidly changing sociodemographic characteristics of Filipino migrants to Hawaii: The predominantly male, older migrants of early years identified by low educational and occupational status are contrasted with the higher-status migrant groups of recent years, who are more professional in background and have a much more balanced age-sex structure.

Besides variations that can be attributed to place of birth and recency of migration, the evidence highlights the important connections between educational levels and patterns of demographic structure on one hand, and certain objective aspects of economic adaptation on

the other. Filipino groups and communities characterized by higher levels of educational attainment and a more normal population structure exhibited higher occupational status and income. All these factors have apparently combined to establish an increasingly diverse Filipino community on Oahu.

CONCLUSION

This overview of some of the important socioeconomic characteristics of the Filipino community on Oahu has focused on the extent to which adaptation (as measured by income and occupation) has occurred among Filipinos as a whole compared to other ethnic groups on the island, as well as among subgroups within the Filipino community. In the process, the factors that may have influenced Filipino adaptation to the host society were identified.

At the broadest level, the data reveal well-defined and consistent patterns of socioeconomic status among major ethnic groups on the island. The evidence confirms the common view that Filipinos as a group occupy the lower strata of the host society's social and economic life. Filipinos had the lowest proportions of male and female labor force participants in the professional/technical/management occupations. At the other extreme, Caucasians had the highest proportions in these occupations, reflecting their traditionally recognized advantage. The situation is similar with income: The median income of employed Filipinos was much lower than that of all Oahu residents and higher only than the median incomes of Samoans and Blacks.

These basic income and occupational patterns suggest the extent to which various groups have adapted to the host community. The traditional model of the adaptation and assimilation process assumes that the immigrant group will eventually acquire the customs, values, and habits of the host society and, as a consequence, move up the social and economic hierarchies after several years (Schmid and Nobbe, 1965:909–922).

This traditional model, however, which is highly simplified, is not adequate to account for the low level of adaptation of Filipinos on Oahu. That the Filipino experience on the island is much more complex has been demonstrated: Filipinos have been handicapped in the adaptation process by (1) their late arrival on the island; (2) the slow pace of urbanization within their community; (3) the large proportion of immigrants in the population; (4) their low levels of educational

attainment; (5) their abnormal age-sex structure and the consequent lack of a stable family life; (6) their lesser experience in a trading economy; and (7) patterns of ethnic stratification in the receiving community.

The data also clearly highlight the diversity and division that exist within the Filipino community on Oahu. Disparities were found, first of all, between Oahu-born and foreign-born Filipinos. In particular, Oahu-born Filipinos had generally higher levels of income and occupation than foreign-born Filipinos, reflecting the advantage of the former in being socialized in the American culture and being familiar with the opportunity structure of the host society. Among foreign-born Filipinos, similar contrasts were observed between the migrants of the early decades of the century and the new-wave migrants. Those who joined early migratory flows, in particular, appear to have had greater difficulty in achieving higher occupational levels, since they were characterized by a highly uneven age-sex structure and relatively low educational attainment and socioeconomic origins; migrant flows in more recent years have been more professional in background and much more balanced in age-sex composition. In turn, the diversity of the Filipino community as a whole seems to have been enhanced by a certain degree of spatial segregation, a phenomenon in which the poorer segments of the Filipino community have clustered in certain areas, especially the highly urbanized core of Honolulu.

The sources of diversity and different levels of adaptation are thus varied; they include nativity, recency of migration, shifts in the demographic and socioeconomic composition of immigrant flows, and place of residence. Indeed, the opportunities for meaningful participation in the socioeconomic life of the host society are not the same for local-born Filipinos and Filipino immigrants, and, at least from the evidence reviewed here, the problems of adaptation were most pronounced for the earliest Filipino immigrants.

One important question that emerges in this regard concerns the possible effect of internal division and diversity on the socioeconomic advance of the Filipino community. In many ways, the cleavages seem to have at least impeded the advance of the foreign-born Filipinos, particularly those who came in early years. Although no direct evidence has been presented in this paper, others have observed that Filipino immigrants, in their efforts to participate actively in various aspects of the social and economic life of the host society, often have

to cope with resistance from an unlikely source—the Filipino-Americans (Okamura and Coller, n.d.). Such resistance often manifests itself in direct conflict, competition, cleavage, or avoidance in associational patterns (Okamura and Coller, n.d.:3). Therefore, the success of Filipino immigrants on Oahu in coping with problems of adaptation may depend to some extent on the ability of other segments of the community to submerge smaller group sympathies based on socioeconomic status in favor of an overall Filipino identity.

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